The Common Cause
OF HUMANITY.

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[The National Union does not hold itself responsible for opinions expressed in signed articles.]

Notes and News.

Nova Scotia and Women's Suffrage.

We are glad to learn that at the opening of the Nova Scotian Legislature, the Lieutenant-Governor promised an extension of the electoral franchise to women. Thus Women's Suffrage continues to spread through the British Dominions.

Discharge of Women Munition Workers.

A good deal of anxiety is felt about the women who have recently been discharged from munition factories, and who are now unemployed. The Government is said to be "seriously considering the situation." It is greatly to be hoped that they will deal with it on broad and generous lines. Their action in this matter will be a kind of experiment in demobilisation, and as such will be watched with anxious interest by all who are interested in the future of women in industry.

Women and Reconstruction.

The Minister of Reconstruction has appointed an Advisory Council to assist him in considering the many and varied proposals that come before his department for review.

So far, the women members of the Council are the Lady Emmott (President of the London Branch of the National Union of Women Workers, and an active member of the Executive Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage); Miss Gertrude Tuckwell (Chairman of the Women's Trade Union League); and Mrs. G. Barton, of the Women's Co-operative Guild. These are excellent names, but we hope that in the further appointments which are to be made to the Council, many more women will be included. Women are as much concerned in reconstruction as men, and at least as active in working for it. The names of many women who ought to be on the Council will at once present themselves to the minds of our readers.

Women and the Law.

We regret to learn that Miss Helena Normanton has been refused admission as a student by the Benchers of the Middle Temple. We understand that she proposes to exercise the right of appeal to the Lord Chancellor and the judges of the High Court, who sit as a domestic tribunal to entertain complaints against the decisions of the benchers. Readers of Miss Normanton's article in our issue of February 22nd will realise how strong a case she can make for the admission of women to the Bar, and will feel assured that even if her appeal does not succeed, she will not let the matter rest there.

Meanwhile, the Women Solicitors Bill has been reintroduced into the House of Lords, and we gather from Mr. Bonar Law's answer to a question by Mr. Holt, on February 13th, that there is some possibility that the Government may take it up, and give time for the discussion in the House of Commons which so many members desire.

Sir Willoughby Dickinson.

Among those who received the honour of Knighthood in the most Excellent Order of the British Empire from the King on February 21st, was the Right Honourable Willoughby Dickinson, M.P. Sir Willoughby has been so long known to us as Mr. W. H. Dickinson, that some of us find it difficult to think of him by a new name; but we are very glad he should be honoured, and we know that, whatever his name, he will be in the future, as he has been in the past, a devoted supporter of Women's Suffrage. We do not forget how much we have to thank him for the important part he took in widening and improving the Representation of the People Bill.

Women in the Lobby.

We are glad, and a little amused, to learn from Mr. Speaker's answer to a question last Thursday that the restriction against the admission of women unaccompanied by a Member to the Central Hall of the Houses of Parliament has now been cancelled. Women's Suffrage has its minor as well as its major consequences!

Important to Women Voters.

The Section in the Representation of the People Act about the women University Voters now reads as follows:—

"A woman shall be entitled to be registered as a Parliamentary elector for a university constituency if she has attained the age of thirty years, and either would be entitled to be so registered if she were a man, or has been admitted to, and passed, the final examination, and kept, under the conditions required of women by the university, the period of residence necessary for a man to obtain a degree at any university forming, or forming part of, a university constituency which did not at the time the examination was passed admit women to degrees."

This seems quite clear, and will give a fairly wide extension to the women's university vote.

Special Number of "The Common Cause."

Our issue of March 12th, appearing two days earlier than usual, will be a special celebration number, containing portraits of distinguished Suffragists and articles of importance by Mrs. Fawcett and others. The price, except for copies sent to regular subscribers, will be 2d., or 2s. per dozen of thirteen. Secretaries of societies, and members who desire extra copies, are asked to send their orders *at once*, as, owing to paper restrictions, only a limited number of copies will be printed. Orders, with postal-orders, should be addressed to the Manager, THE COMMON CAUSE, 62, Oxford Street, W. 1.

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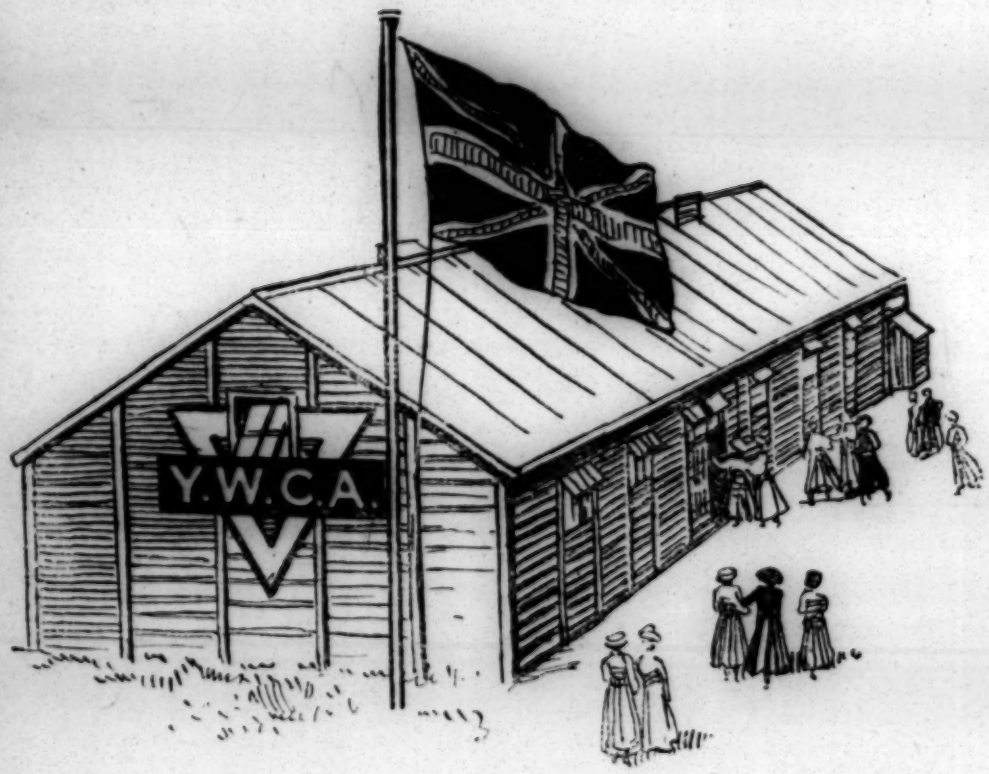

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The Ministry of Health.

By Dr. C. W. Saleeby, M.D., F.R.S., &c.

For many years our "elder statesmen" of National Hygiene have been advocating the formation of a Ministry of Health. The name of Sir Clifford Allbutt is perhaps the most distinguished among such advocates. Those who, during the whole of the present century at least, have been actively engaged in public health work whether in an official capacity or otherwise, have long looked for the day which is now dawning. The war has shown even the purblind what is the relation of national health, of body, and of conduct, to national existence. As far back as June, 1915, at a conference held, thanks to the Duchess of Marlborough, at Sunderland House by the National Council of Public Morals, the Bishop of Birmingham being in the chair, it was my privilege to move a resolution which was unanimously passed:—

"That the Government Department constituted to supervise the care of the whole nation's motherhood should form an integral part of a Ministry of Public Health, which for this and many other purposes is urgently required, and should forthwith be established."

The resolutions passed at this conference had their weight with public opinion and at the Local Government Board, and directly helped the passage to the Statute-book of the Notification of Births (Extension) Act, which has been of such immense value during the period, now of nearly three years, since its adoption.

I confess that, in moving the resolution for a Ministry of Health, I was concerned merely to persist in the work of public education in this regard, but without any hope of seeing this project in being for years to come. Yet now, after a few years of the cogent and inescapable lessons of war, the time is at hand. A few of the main arguments used in 1915 may here be stated.

First is the bewildering number of offices which must be approached before the pioneers of public health work from the outside can get anything done. It is in our experience that, whether for information or for practice, we have had, these many years, to batter at the doors of the Local Government Board, the Privy Council, the Home Office, the Registrar-General, and the Board of Education. Take the most recent instance, the attempt to stop racial poisoning by *emplastrum plumbi*, to which I have been directing public attention for many years, and which we most thoroughly examined upon the National Birth-rate Commission. Here is a notorious poison, the sale of which is ruinous to the public health, not only in this, but in the next generation. If we had had a Minister of Health he would have stopped it years ago. Instead, we have been required to spend immense and wearisome—because so factitious—labour, in appealing to and interviewing many official bodies in the attempt, now at last happily successful, to have lead plaster so scheduled that it shall be unobtainable for purposes of racial poisoning. The labour, the waste of time, the inefficiency, the ludicrous lack of co-ordination between departments, the overlapping, the falling between two and twenty stools, instances of which might be multiplied *ad nauseam*, would have been credited by no one without first-hand knowledge, until the war arrived to show us all how we are governed.

The happy cause which has brought the Ministry of Health on to the stage of practical politics is its adoption, about a year ago, by Lord Rhondda, during his remarkable Presidency of the Local Government Board. His attempts to serve infancy were hindered by another department, which he has never named, but which he has told us was not the Board of Education. Looking into the matter, he saw at once that the division of responsibility among numerous departments was a great obstacle to progress, and he advocated the Ministry of Health accordingly. For that reform we still wait, though no one has dared to challenge his statement, made on the highest authority, that a thousand babies' lives a week would be saved by this reform; and though the year's delay must therefore have cost at least 50,000 lives already, to say nothing of the damaged-for-life or of the adult. The misfortune has been that amongst our so-called statesmen there was no one who both would and could undertake the control of our food. Lord Rhondda was therefore persuaded to leave the Local Government Board, with a promise from the Premier. Had he remained, he would doubtless be at this moment our first Minister of Health, and there would be some prospect that the most appalling peril of peace, the certain spread of venereal disease during demobilisation, might be provided against by his masterly prescience.

Meanwhile, our vital, or mortal, statistics are undergoing a steady deterioration, checked though it be by the special measures in favour of the diet of mothers and children which Lord Rhondda, doing his best to be a Minister of Health as well as Food Controller, has enacted. Last year's infant mortality rose markedly above the promising figure of 1916, and this higher mortality—as neo-Malthusians are requested to note—occurred against by far the lowest birth-rate ever recorded—17.7 per thousand for England and Wales. All this is bad enough, but worse remains behind. There are figures which already suggest an increase in venereal disease, notwithstanding the very valuable measures which we owe again to Lord Rhondda when he was at the Local Government Board. When peace comes, we shall have to face, on an unprecedented scale, the customary spread of these infections after a war. Colonel Harrison, the leading authority on this subject in the Army Medical Service, has just pointed out that the danger will flow less from the return home of infected men than from the infection of demobilised soldiers, at present healthy, on their return to the worse than lax conditions which will await them. Figures which he cited as to this are too deplorable for me to dare to quote them yet. The mutilations and wounds of war are not transmissible to offspring—blessed fact; but these diseases, like alcohol and lead, are what I call racial poisons, and the ante-natal and post-natal murder for which they will be responsible will carry on the havoc of war far into the coming years. The various reasons for which, since early in 1915, I have been asking for a Ministry of Health, are singly and severally quite insignificant when compared with this tremendous necessity, against which at this moment nothing remotely adequate is being begun or contemplated. Appalling will be the responsibility of Dr. Addison, well acquainted as he is professionally with these considerations, and of the Premier whom he advises, if they fail to provide us with a Ministry of Health of the right kind and in time.

Here I ask for the voice of woman, and not least, of enfranchised motherhood, on behalf of this great cause. Its claims will be advocated next month (March 21st) at the Caxton Hall, during a conference called principally for this purpose by the National Council of Public Morals; but of the many women who have been invited to speak, only Lady Selborne so far can find time from war-work to help us. To get this Ministry is war-work of the most urgent kind, as Lord Rhondda has himself asserted from the first.

If the Government does not care, the nation does. Wherever one goes now, from meetings of men or women, or both, north or south, middle or working class, one gets unanimous resolutions protesting against the continued sacrifice of the nation's present health and future life, and demanding this Ministry without further delay. The women's organisations might help greatly now by passing such resolutions and sending them to our servants—or Ministers, if three syllables be preferred.

We are to begin with the expectant mother, providing at least a National Service for Maternity, so that every mother shall have Lord Lister on one side of her bed and Florence Nightingale on the other in her creative hour. We must go on through infancy, and what I would like to call the "home child," to the school child and adolescence, until we have young parenthood guarded from the racial poisons—the venereal diseases and their trusty confederate alcohol—and housed, or rather *homed*, where childhood can flourish and the cycle of life be renewed. It can be done. Under the worst possible conditions the Jews have done it for ages, and are everywhere amongst the masters of the world to-day. No natural secret needs to be discovered. We need no more than to imitate the lower animals in their state of nature, and any race of man may last as long as they. The principles of Preventive Medicine, which have won unprecedented triumphs in our fighting forces since the war began, can, and must, be applied to the civil population when, under Dr. Addison's direction, doctors take to doctoring—which is literally and profoundly *teaching*, of course—and all but half-a-dozen drugs or so go to their own place. It was another ex-professor of anatomy, named Oliver Wendell Holmes, who said, with meagre exaggeration, that if all the *materia medica* were

thrown into the sea it would be much the better for mankind and much the worse for the sea. Primarily the new Ministry will be one not so much of healing, which is for the most part impossible, and of which panel doctoring is a sorry simulacrum, but of health, which we may have when we please. Women are even more concerned than men, for their own sakes; they are certainly more concerned as trustees of the future. Men have delayed long enough. Let enfranchised women see this thing through without more of the delay which is murdering our national future.

The Endowment of Motherhood

In its Bearing on the Doctrine of Equal Wages for Equal Work.

To most readers, at first sight these two phrases appear to have no connection, except that they both stand for proposals put forward by feminists in the supposed interests of women, and through women, of the whole community. They are, in fact, I believe, so closely dependant that the second proposal will only become generally practicable, and, I will add, will only become really equitable, when the first has been carried into effect.

To see why this is so, it is necessary to examine the obstacles which stand in the way of realisation of the ideal "Equal Wages for Equal Work as between Men and Women." There are several of these obstacles, and the limitation of an article in The Common Cause makes it impossible to examine them with anything like thoroughness. I must content myself with saying that the reasons why women usually receive less pay than men, even when they do the same kind of work, and do it equally well, may be summarised as follows:—

(1) That women have a lower standard of individual comfort than men.*

(2) That women are less well organised than men.

(3) That women, even when their work is piece by piece as good as a man's, are in many trades, especially the more skilled, less valuable employees than men, because their work is subject to certain permanent disadvantages, of which much the most important is that they are apt to "Go off and get married just when they are beginning to be of some use."

(4) That the wages of women are, broadly speaking, based on the cost of individual subsistence; while the wages of men are, broadly speaking, based on the cost of subsistence of a family.

The last of these causes of the inferiority of women's wages to men's is, I believe, incomparably the most important, and it is the only one with which I am concerned in this article.

In arguments on this subject I have often noticed that the proposition "that men have families to keep" is put forward even by the defenders of higher wages for men in a half-apologetic tone, as though it were about equivalent to the proposition that men must be allowed their beer and tobacco; while women, fortunately, have not yet acquired the bad habit of demanding these things. The women present usually seek to counter it by pointing out that women also often have dependants, and they quote the report of the Fabian Research Department to the effect that over 50 per cent. of the women wage-earners investigated were wholly or partially supporting others besides themselves. This, though true, is so obviously an inadequate answer that I never hear it used by women without a qualm of shame for the users. They seem to me either dull-witted or disingenuous, no doubt unconsciously. However keen we may be for the ideal of "equal wages for equal work," let us at least be honest and face the facts. How many even of the 50 per cent. of the women with dependants in the Fabian enquiry had responsibilities that were really equivalent to that of a married man with the average-sized family of three children? Even a widow with children, whose position comes nearest to that of the married man, is head of a household that has lost its most expensive member. Most of the remainder of the 50 per cent. probably contributed to the support of a widowed mother or invalid father, or to the education of younger brothers and sisters; a charge which is in many cases shared by the married sons, in addition to supporting families of their own.

The fact is—and the feminist ought to be the last to ignore or evade it—that the most necessary function which any nation has to perform, more necessary even than the function of self-defence, is the function of self-reproduction. It is a costly function, involving not only the maintenance of the children from birth till they reach the age of self-support, but the maintenance of the mothers who bear and rear them, and who, while the children are young, ought to be able to give themselves up wholly to their care.

How is the cost to be met? At present it is met by the amazingly clumsy and unsatisfactory device of throwing the whole charge (except a few items such as education) upon the wages of the individual fathers. This is not done by statute, for though the law of all civilised countries assumes that it is the duty of married men to maintain their wives and children, it neither enforces this duty nor ensures that the men shall have adequate means to carry it out. It is done by the rough and tumble of economic forces, which bring about by a blundering roundabout sort of process that the wages of each class of workers shall at least cover the minimum of primary necessities effectively demanded by that class of workers. As the desire to marry and have children is one common to mankind, and as it is the universal and immemorial custom to expect the family to be maintained by the father if alive, it comes about that the minimum of effective demand in the case of male workers tends to settle at a level not lower than that at which the workers can maintain their families; not, indeed, in many cases, as families ought to be maintained, but at the standard of comfort (or discomfort) to which the class of worker in question has become accustomed.* In other words, the remuneration of the male workers includes indirectly not only the cost of rearing the children, but the remuneration of the services of the mothers to the community.

Thus it comes about that those who start out with the apparently indubitable proposition that women who do work of the same value as men ought to receive the same wages, are confronted with the equally indubitable proposition that if the male workers are to bear nearly the whole cost of rearing the future generation, they must be given some money to do it with. This gigantic charge on their wages cannot be treated as though keeping wives and children was an expensive and unnecessary hobby, like tobacco or pigeon-flying, which men must pay for at the expense of other indulgences.

This line of argument is apt to produce a sense of irritation or depression, as the case may be, on the feminist advocate of "equal wages for equal work." On the one hand, she cannot very well deny the claim I have just put forward without giving the lie to all she has hitherto maintained as to the enormous value to the State of childlife and of the functions of the mother. On the other hand, she sees quite clearly that in holding out for the principle of "equal wages for equal work" she is really upholding something more than a mere claim founded on abstract justice, more even than the right of women to fair remuneration for the work they do. What is at stake is really nothing less than the freedom of the wage-earning woman to do the best work of which she is capable in the trade or profession for which her natural capacities fit her. There is no getting away from it. So long as the wages of women are based on a totally different standard from those of men, so long will the entry of women into all the more highly skilled and interesting occupations be resisted (and from their point of view rightly resisted) by men, who see in female competition a sort of dry rot or blight, which eats away insidiously the very fabric of the structure which Trade Unionism has succeeded in erecting, after years of effort, to protect the standard of life of the workers. We find ourselves, therefore, confronted with a dilemma. Are women to be the eternal blacklegs, doomed by the working of economic laws over which they have no control to assert their own industrial freedom at the expense not only of their own husbands, fathers, and brothers, but at the expense of those wives and mothers whose ranks the woman worker herself eventually hopes to join? Or—melancholy alternative—must women, in the interests of the wider claims of the race, go back to the industrial position in which they found themselves before the necessities of the war broke down barriers and gave them the chance to show what they could do? Must they at its close be again shut up in a sort of lepers' compound of trades so unskilled, ill-paid, and monotonous that no man covets them?

* Will the reader please note that throughout the greater part of this article I am speaking of the industrially occupied classes—not of the salaried or capitalist classes. It is unnecessary, therefore, for critics to remind me that the women of the latter classes have long ago achieved a "real equality" with their men folk in the matter of self-indulgence, their inferiority in greed being quite compensated by the superiority in vanity.

* I have not here time to discuss the theory of wages, and it must not be supposed that I am contending that the standard of subsistence or of comfort of the workers is the sole factor which determines wages. But I think that it is generally conceded that it is one of the factors.

From this dilemma, the endowment of motherhood, or, as I prefer to call it, the endowment of families, opens, I believe, the only possible door of escape. Lift from off the shoulders of individual fathers the financial burden of rearing the future generation, place that burden upon the broad shoulders of the State, and you will have removed the chief obstacle to the realisation of the ideal "Equal wages for equal work." The victory will even then not have been won. There will still stand in the way not only custom and prejudice, but all those other causes of the lowness of women's wages which I enumerated at the beginning of this article—their inferior standard of living, their inexperience in organisation, all those disadvantages which arise from women being, most of them, birds of passage in their trades. But these are obstacles which can be met and overcome. The fight will then be a clean fight on a fair field—a fight in which we can all join without being held back or disheartened by the suspicion first, that the main cause of the inferiority of women's wages is so fundamental that it is futile to seek to overcome it, since we cannot hope to teach a woman alone effectively to demand as much house room, food, clothing, and other necessaries as are demanded by a family; secondly, that, even if it were practicable, it would not after all be quite fair, since *as things are now*, "men have families to keep."

Eleanor F. Rathbone.

Women in the Engineering Trades.

III.—The Future.

If the work and the pay of women in the Engineering Trades are confused and chaotic, the question of their future in the trade is infinitely more obscure. So many conflicting elements enter into the situation that it is difficult to do more than enumerate them. The memorandum upon which these articles are based, puts forward a policy which, if adopted by the Government and the Unions concerned, might offer a solution to some of the main difficulties; at the same time it also presents a number of criticisms on the memorandum which indicate a few of the many difficulties that any single solution implies.

In dealing with the future, the memorandum begins by asking the question—"Will the women stay in the Trade?" and presents the pull of forces tending to keep them in and to drive them out. On the one hand the promised restoration of Trade Union conditions, the hostility of the men to women competitors, the hypothetical unsuitability of the work to women, and the return of large numbers of men to the industry; on the other hand, the proved skill of women, the unblushing determination of the employer to keep them at reduced wages, the vast numbers of women drawn into the trade and their unwillingness to return to "women's trades." These things are set off one against the other, and the conclusion is that the women, to some extent at any rate, will remain in the trade. There is one factor of the situation not greatly stressed in the memorandum, but which may possibly prove to be the deciding factor, and that is the attitude of public opinion towards the whole question. The men's Unions may claim the exclusive right of deciding the matter, and the employers may put up an acrimonious fight against them, but so long as this country retains its present Parliamentary Government, public opinion must affect, and, in the end, control any bargain between them that becomes the law of the land; and public opinion as everyone knows, expects women to remain in the trade.

Starting from the assumption that women are to remain, the Memorandum sets forth first the necessity for their organisation, and secondly the terms upon which they might safely be admitted. The question of their organisation will be dealt with in the next article. The terms for their retention recommended by the Memorandum are these: first, that the Trade Unions concerned should demand the unqualified restoration of pre-war conditions but should be prepared to accept in exchange a *quid pro quo* regulating the conditions of the industry. It suggests six main headings for this equivalent concession, of which the first is that the employer should be free to employ either men or women on any process only on the condition that he reaps no extra profit from one or the other. In a series of deeply interesting, if somewhat academic, pages, it sets out how this might be attained. First, by the universal application of a minimum wage, second, by the legal enforcement of time-work and piece-work rates, subject only to alteration where the employer can prove loss to himself by the employment of women either

(*a*) during the period of training;

(*b*) owing to legal restrictions of female labour (such as prohibition of night-work, &c.);

(*c*) owing to extra safety or strain-saving devices necessary for women and not for men; and

(*d*) proved depreciation of output, due to the employment of women.

The Memorandum suggests that the burden of proof should lie with the employer, and that none of the intangible considerations which are held to make women's labour of less value than men's should be taken into account. Their shorter industrial life, their great mortality by marriage, their different standard of living, and the whole series or arguments implied by the so-called family wage, are dismissed as fictitious or irrelevant, and the only deductions admitted are those for proved loss to the employer as enumerated above.

The other five provisions of the suggested *quid pro quo* do not primarily concern women. The question of apprenticeship rates, of continued education up to the age of eighteen, of adequate provision for unemployment by regulation of half-time workers and the provision of training and maintenance, the protection against occupational injury and the direct control of workshop conditions, are all matters common to men and women, and are indeed large and important questions. They are somewhat sketchily outlined in the memorandum, and need not be exhaustively considered. Taking all the six proposals together, however, they present a very substantial *quid pro quo* for the Unions to demand, and if there seems something too doctrinaire in the final impression, it is perhaps attributable to their Fabian origin. The development of industry does not proceed along theoretic lines, but it is of the utmost importance that thinking should be carried on simultaneously with practice, experiment, revolution and compromise.

The criticisms published with the memorandum throw an interesting light upon the different directions in which industrial theory diverges. Mr. Cole, Mrs. Ewer, and Mr. Mellor criticise the report on the ground that it pays too much attention to the question of women which, in their judgment, is of infinitely small importance compared with the strength and development of the Trade Union movement as a whole. They would cheerfully sacrifice their belief in equality of opportunity and of pay to the welfare of the Trade Union movement, and they consider that "industrial feminism is full of menace to the Labour movement as a whole." They close their eyes to the fact that the Trade Union movement cannot be strong while it contains such a serious weakness within it as the present position of women, and they think that they can push ahead with the main campaign without waiting to clear up the internal weaknesses which beset them.

Mr. F. S. Button points out some of the objections to the main report, and in particular to the suggested preferential treatment for women's labour; Miss Macarthur and Miss Lawrence maintain that the report sets aside too lightly the Government pledge to restore Trade Union conditions, and disagree with the proposal to allow lower rates of pay to women on account of increase of cost to the employer.

Amid these different theories, the women's work continues. The problem increases daily, and the hour for its solution draws nearer. Already discharges from munition works are giving a foretaste of the problem of demobilisation, and if we are not ready when that time comes we shall find not only the engineering trades and the Labour movement, but the whole country itself overwhelmed with the disastrous results of our lack of forethought.

Ray Strachey.

OBITUARY.

The Suffrage movement has lost a true friend in Earl Brassey, who died on February 23rd, at the age of eighty-two. Lord Brassey was educated at Rugby and Oxford, and was called to the Bar in 1866. In 1880, as Civil Lord of the Admiralty, he became a recognised authority on naval administration; in 1884 he was made Secretary to the Admiralty. Lord Brassey was a very generous supporter of the London Society for Women's Suffrage. Lady Brassey, who has sat on the Executive Committee of the London Society for Women's Suffrage for two years, is a well-known Suffragist, and much sympathy will be felt for her.

Sidelights on Irish Suffrage.

VIII.—"ON GRIEVANCES."

Of the tale of grievances there is no end. We all like to have one, like my friend who "had enjoyed very poor health for the last twenty years." We Suffragists have lost part of ours, though we are not yet "on the same terms," and can therefore still hug a remnant of our fifty-year-old grievance.

Irish grievances are not precisely unfamiliar to English readers; hitherto they have generally been brought forward by politicians for the benefit of other politicians of another party. Perhaps women would have made out rather a different list had they set about the business.

Take a few instances from the present day. We have the minimum wage in Ireland in three trades—shirt-making, "white-work," including all the drawn-thread work and the handkerchief embroidery, and in box-making. Even in Ireland, laws cannot always be enforced with perfect evenness and absence of friction. Complaints do sometimes arise, and how are they to be dealt with? There is no Trade Board Office in Ireland. We have one lady factory inspector, and she, as well as the very competent men inspectors, can be reached in their own offices, but complaints or enquiries with regard to the working of the Trades Board Act have either to go to the Head Office in London or to wait until the inspector comes round. My little friend in a country town factory has not been able to secure payment of the arrears which the Trade Board Inspector decided to be due to her, and the information that she will have to send her complaint to London does not seem to afford her much satisfaction. Perhaps the powers that be might consider setting up a Trade Board Office in Belfast and another in Dublin, if any members of any Irish party would concern themselves with the matter. They may think it worth while to do so now; hitherto it was not worth while as the employees in the trades concerned were women and girls.

Another grievance has to do with the administration of the Poor Law. The scale of outdoor relief in Ireland has always been much lower than that in Great Britain; indeed, in turning over the British figures, one wonders why in those favoured countries there should be any question of Mothers' Pensions. Here before the war the average for a widow with two children was somewhere about 5s. to 7s. per week, the most extraordinary variety prevailing on account of the vague phrase "adequate relief" used in the Act. At present the Mothers' Pensions Committees in Belfast and Dublin are pressing for a generous increase of outdoor relief, until some fundamental reform can be effected. The widow with one child must go unhelped until that happy time of reconstruction is reached, as she is expressly excluded by the Act.

The orphan and deserted children are often better off than those whose mother is still alive; one Union, for example, boards them out at a weekly payment of 6s. 6d., with an outfit and occasional help with winter clothing and boots. In the same Union the widow with two children is given an order for food and coal to the amount of 16s. a week, this being the last increase. The cost of food and clothing for each inmate of the same Union is 6s. 9d. a week. Of course the widow is not really expected to support herself and the two children on an amount less than what it would cost to keep them in the workhouse. She is expected to go out and work, and from her earnings pay someone else to look after the children, an arrangement which appears to be considered entirely proper and satisfactory. In this locality the lowest possible rent would be 2s. 9d. a week, and a week's supply of coal would cost at the lowest figure 3s. 3d. No wonder we look at the Glasgow figures with envy.

There is another point: the Guardians have the power to apprentice the boarded-out children, and this is frequently done with very satisfactory results. But again the widow's children are penalised; the law as it stands at present does not appear to allow help to be given in this form when the mother is alive. The phrase "does not appear" is used advisedly, since, true to the national temperament, there is no uniformity in the matter, and in some cases the Guardians seem to have taken the law in their own hands. But when the Juvenile Advisory Committee applied to the authorities in the Union already referred to, they were informed that it was not possible under the present Poor Law to assist in the apprenticeship of widows' children.

Again, apparently in Great Britain the children of vicious parents can be boarded out in the same manner as the orphan and deserted children. In Ireland such children must be maintained in the workhouse unless it is possible to get them adopted. This may not be an invariable rule, as once more the law might be "stretched," but it is accepted as the law by several large Unions.

Lastly, if the widow is so unreasonable as to be taken ill, an entirely unjustifiable proceeding on her part in view of the munificent help given, she must go into the Union Infirmary, and the children must come into the House. The law does not allow the payment of outdoor relief in these cases, even where there is a relative who would take charge of the children were some help forthcoming.

Perhaps it is as well that some Boards of Guardians in Ireland share the view expressed once and for ever by the immortal Bumble: "The law is a hass." But these things go to strengthen that deep feeling of grievance which lies at the heart of the Irish unrest. It is a good augury for the future of the country that the newly enfranchised women are working together to effect some reform in these directions.

Dora Mellone.

Miss Helen Fraser in America.

Life, since I landed in America on November 30th, has been the ceaseless whirl one always hears it is over here. I have spoken so often I have quite lost count of even where I have been—last week I spoke at seventeen meetings, and had five conferences. The desire to hear what our women have done, and are doing, is so great that I am refusing engagements every day; it is impossible to cope with the demand.

My invitation to go came first from the Colleges. President McCracken, of Vassar College, was the person who suggested getting over someone from England, and he has written a foreword to my book. I went first to Vassar College, and spent a week there, and shall always treasure the memory of it as one of my happiest. Since then I have been to Smith, to Wellesley, to Bryn Mawr, to Mount Holyoke, to Connecticut, to Simmon's Colleges, to the Boston Institute of Technology, and to Columbia University. I am invited to Harvard.

The President received me at Washington, and how great an honour that is, I appreciate even more when I see the admiring wonder with which Americans regard someone who has had that privilege. We had a twenty minutes' conversation, which ranged from women's work to peace terms.

I talked to Secretary McAdoo, who finished up by saying, "Between us, we'll lick the Kaiser," and was full of praise for our War Savings work, on which the Americans are modelling theirs. I also had an interview with Samuel Gompers, a most remarkable old man, who made an interesting statement on Labour. The difficulty here, it seems, is to get accurate knowledge. They had no Federal Labour Exchanges—have just started them—and it is impossible to know anything covering the country correctly about labour needs. Some people assert that women are not needed; others that they are. The great point seems to be the fear that they are only being used because they are cheap; but that can be safeguarded by equal pay, which, Gompers insists, is essential. Women are moving into more work, and I have letters from big munition plants asking me for advice on using women. The whole labour question, like their Government questions, seems to me involved and intricate beyond words; anything more cumbersome than their Government it would be difficult to imagine, and having forty-eight States with separate powers and laws, gives problems beside which ours are simple. The directness and simplicity of our organisation are very clear here. The greatest thing one learns over here is to see our work in a new and wonderful light. The women are anxious to do everything that is needed, but there is naturally great difficulty in realising the war among the mass, and there are the elements in different races that make it still more difficult. I meet, naturally, the people who are keenest, many of whose sons have fought with us before, and find that these people longed intensely to be in with us from the very beginning, as we knew.

I am speaking a great deal for the Women's Committee of the Council of National Defence, and am consulted ceaselessly on specific problems, especially Land, Food, Labour, and War Savings. Their admiration for our work on War Savings is unbounded, and the men in charge in the States are anxious to have me everywhere; and the Food Administration in Washington telegraphed to ask if I would go with the French delegation through the Middle West on a Food Campaign. That is impossible, but I naturally appeal on that urgently.

There was no greater need for us than to send a woman speaker over here. Nothing conveys what the spoken word and the person straight from things does.

It was splendid to meet in Washington the Suffrage Convention, and to hear on January 10th of their victory in Congress—and the same day our own triumph in the House of Lords. Their fight is not yet over. They have a great deal to do yet, and it is perfectly true to say that our war-work and our victory are helping them in this country. I hear of the Scottish Women's Hospitals in many places, and Dr. Elsie Inglis, a name they know well. Mrs. Chapman Catt and Dr. Anna Shaw are as wonderful as ever, and everyone was so glad to hear of Mrs. Fawcett, and of our work and victory.

HELEN FRASER.

Reviews.

WOMEN AND WAR WORK. By Helen Fraser.

Miss Helen Fraser provides a mass of useful information as to the work, both paid and voluntary, done by women in Great Britain during the war. The book is intended for the American public, and, this being so, it is probably natural that Miss Fraser should look on the bright side of things and record our triumphs but not our failures or our differences of opinion. Still, one can imagine that some account of our difficulties might have an interest for women in the United States who are facing the same problems. For instance, "Wages in most cases are at the same rate as men" may be an encouragement to our American friends to press for similar conditions of payment, but describes the aspiration of British women rather than the attainment of their desires; and in the same way the provision in Circular L 2, which lays down that "women employed on work customarily done by fully-skilled tradesmen shall be paid the time rates of the tradesmen whose work they undertake," has been of smaller value to women in munition work than the precision of the language might seem to indicate. Welfare work is also mentioned in greater detail than some other sides of the industrial question, but chiefly from the point of view of increased production. In referring to the moral problem, Miss Fraser declares in favour of the Criminal Law Amendment Bill, but without mentioning that the weight of opinion against the Bill has been sufficient to hold it up for many months. However, the general principles laid down in this section by Miss Fraser will be acceptable to most Suffragists.

There is a good deal in this book about the work of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies, from the emergency work of the London Society in receiving Belgian refugees, and the Welding School and Employment Bureau of the same Society, to the widespread and splendid activities of the Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service, and the Millicent Fawcett Units in Russia. We certainly have reason to feel proud of such a record.

"And the greatest lesson of all is that women and men must work together in this new world," says President McCracken, of Vassar College, in his introduction; and perhaps this is the crux of the whole matter. But if it has become even partially within reach as a practical factor in our national life, it is due, in a great measure, to the self-sacrifice, during the war, of all classes and of both sexes. Those who wish to appreciate the contribution of women must read of it for themselves in Miss Fraser's pages.

ROSAMOND SMITH.

WHIN. W. W. Gibson. (Macmillan. 3s. 6d.)

With disappointment we lay down Mr. Gibson's latest volume: "Whin" is deplorably thin. Its chief characteristic is repetition. There do exist poems which are enhanced, even made, by repetition, but in this case its continual use spells only poverty. Poverty of matter, combined with fluency, has, from the very first, been Mr. Gibson's pitfall; but he overcame it. In "The Hare," "The Devil's Edge," and nearly a dozen other poems, he has shown that facility is not fatal; that, allied to solidity and significance of matter, it can be transmuted into beautiful ease, strength and simplicity. But now the poet, while retaining the simplicity characteristic of his second phase, has lost the strength. He has become facile once more.

The last poem of the book, "Lament," which, when it appeared in "Georgian Poetry," called forth some praise, is typical of Mr. Gibson in his less ingenuous mood. It has, indeed, a sentimental, melodious charm, like many drawing-room ballads: the writer of "Prometheus" should not have fallen to this.

The lines we prefer of the whole volume are from "The Ragged Stone." This poem seems to express accurately the instinctive resentment of those who are the pawns in the Chess-game of War:—

"And if the tale be true they tell about the Ragged Stone
I'll not be walking with my dear next year, nor yet alone. . . .

"Because the King and Counsellors went mad, my love and I
May never have a little house before we come to die."

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Equal Morals?

Nearly forty-eight years ago (on March 20th, 1870), Victor Hugo wrote to Josephine Butler to express his burning sympathy with the resistance which she and other English women and men were offering to the hideous system of State-regulated vice, which England had recently borrowed from France:—

"All noble hearts and all lofty spirits will be on your side. The slavery of black women is abolished in America, but the slavery of white women continues in Europe; and laws are still made by men to tyrannise over women."

Almost at the same time Mazzini wrote:—

"Can you doubt how eagerly I watch from afar, and how heartily I bless the efforts of the brave, earnest British women who are striving for the extension of the suffrage to their sex and for the repeal of the vice-protecting Acts, which last question is but an incident in the great general question of justice to women? . . . . Your cause is a religious one. Do not narrow it down to what is called a right or an interest. Let duty be your ground, both in protecting your unhappy sisters and in urging your political claims. You are the children of God. You have the same duty (as men) to perform on earth—the progressive discovery and the progressive fulfilment of His law. You cannot renounce that task without sinning against the God who appointed it, and gave to you, as to us, faculties and powers for its accomplishment. You cannot fulfill your task without *liberty*, which is the source of responsibility. You cannot fulfill it without *equality*, which is liberty for each and all. Your claim to the suffrage is identical with that of the working men. Like them, you seek to bring a new element of progress to the common work; you feel that you, too, have something to say, not merely indirectly, but legally and officially, with regard to the great problems which stir and torture the souls of mankind.

"As for the special cause of which you write, the repeal of these hideous acts, you will succeed. You have in your House of Commons men whom surely no giant despair of physical disease can turn aside from the straight path of principle and justice; but even if these should fail you, which I do not believe, you have your people. Your working-men have shown, during the Lancashire famine, how they can feel for the down-trodden and oppressed. Appeal to them. I have lived long enough in England to know what the answer would be."

Mazzini was right; after seventeen years of toil, Josephine Butler and her fellow-workers did succeed in getting the Contagious Diseases Acts repealed in Great Britain, and they themselves bore witness that it was very largely by appealing to working people that they did so. But unhappily the abolition of State-licensed vice in Great Britain did not lead to its abolition in all parts of the Empire, and it has continued to flourish on the Continent of Europe. France, the first country to suffer from the hideous system (which was one of the by-products of the Napoleonic Wars), suffers from it still. Not, indeed, without protest. We have seen what Victor Hugo thought of it in 1870; in 1906 Monsieur Clémenceau, then Minister of the Interior, said:—

"Women expiate the vices of men. Ah! if you could see the appalling procession of degraded beings from fifteen to sixty years of age summing up in themselves all the over-weight of human misery, which passes before what is called the Administrative Tribunal, perhaps you would agree with me that it is not enough to keep them in prison for the breach of regulations which no one has the right to make and to encourage their daily abasement. Theoretically, I am supposed to keep watch over public health, threatened by this redoubtable legion—I must tell you that in this matter the work of my department is entirely without result; though to attain its object it uses means which are repugnant to every moral law and to the fundamental principles of government."

It is twelve years since the present Prime Minister of France made the speech we quote from, but his country has not yet shaken off the curse, and during the last few weeks, lovers of freedom in this country have learned with indignation that some of the British military authorities have been helping

to uphold it. We have several times referred to the matter in these columns. This week Mr. Macpherson's statements in the House of Commons have made things far worse. His attempt to throw all the blame on to the French is, as the Dean of Lincoln points out in Wednesday's *Times*, mere *camouflage;* and his own admissions show that there is an appalling danger of the spread of the regulation system. It is the urgent concern of enfranchised women to prevent this.

The danger lies in the return of the European conditions from which the system originally sprang. It was first introduced in France, on the eve of the French Empire in 1802. "It could only have had its birth," said Professor de Laveleye, "at a period of disturbance, when the rights of human dignity and individual liberty were forgotten or misunderstood." Once more Europe is convulsed by a great war; numbers of people are leading horrible and unnatural lives, and materialism and panic-fear are evils which lie in wait for individuals or nations who do not keep a firm grasp upon their ideals. The fact that State regulation of vice has been proved useless and dangerous from the medical point of view is not in itself a sufficient safeguard. In times of panic, people are often tempted to resort to remedies which are no remedies, and may do infinite harm. The evils that they know are so painful that they eagerly turn from them to others which they know not of, and which their imagination does not grasp.

Fortunately, there are surer safeguards. One is the growth of conscious desire for freedom in nations and individuals, which is our great consolation for our present ills; the other is the concrete fact that in Britain and America women are gaining their enfranchisement. Mazzini clearly perceived that the repeal of the vice-protecting Acts was but "an incident in the great general question of justice to women." In one sense licensed prostitution is a "women's question": it involves the deliberate exploitation of a certain number of women for the supposed benefits of men.

It is true that, like all injustices, it brings cruel evil not only to its obvious victim, but to those for whose advantage it is supposed to exist. Many people who have heard with horror the reports from Cayeux and other "places in France," have probably thought first of our young soldiers, many of them mere boys, leading lives so abnormal and painful that physical temptations must be unusually difficult to resist, and betrayed, it would seem, by some of those authorities whose first duty it is to care for their welfare.

But the fate of the fifteen girls imprisoned in the horrible house at Cayeux, and visited by hundreds of men, is also our concern. Everyone who has studied the terrible question of prostitution knows that an enormous number of those who practise it are, in the first place, victims, if not of actual outrage, then of impossible conditions, and the ignorance and helplessness of unprotected youth. (The age at which the majority of prostitutes take up their trade is in itself a proof of this.) The regulation laws are, in the words of one of Mrs. Butler's fellow-workers, "a network which holds them down in hell." And they are special laws for women. Boys who are betrayed into sexual license run grievous risks, but they have at least the chance of a return to other paths; they are not "held down in hell." Girls run the same risks, and for them there is too often no escape. This is certainly so under the regulation system, which is a State recognition of the double standard of morals. The double standard is one of the evils which the women's movement is out to destroy, and resistance to the spread of regulation is therefore "a woman's question." In another sense, of course, it is simply a human question. Mrs. Butler said:—

> "It was as a citizen of a free country first, and as a woman secondly, that I felt impelled to come forward in defence of the right. At the same time, the fact that the new legislation *directly* and shamefully attacked the dignity and liberties of women, became a powerful means, in God's Providence, of awakening a deeper sympathy amongst favoured women for their poorer and less fortunate sisters than had probably ever been felt before. It consolidated the women of our country and gradually of the world by the infliction on them of a double wrong, an outrage on free citizenship and an outrage on the sacred rights of womanhood. It helped to conjure up also a great army of good and honourable men through the length and breadth of the land, who, in taking up the cause of this deeply injured class, soon became aware that they were fighting also for themselves, their own liberties and their own honour."

For these reasons we hope that many of the newly-enfranchised will take part in the protest which is being organised by the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene.

Our Troops and the "Maisons Tolérées."

By Miss Alison Neilans, Editor of "The Shield."

Few people will be satisfied with the replies given in the House of Commons by Mr. Macpherson, Under Secretary for War, to the questions as to the facilities for immorality which are permitted to British Troops in France and elsewhere. The actual facts described in the Memorandum of the Association for Moral and Social Hygiene have not been denied; all we are told is that the *maisons tolérées* are a matter for the French civil authorities, and that the British authorities cannot therefore take any action. Mr. Macpherson added that he was not prepared to interfere with the French civil authorities, presumably even in regard to Cayeux, where a brothel has been set up in the immediate vicinity of a British Convalescent Camp, containing some 7,000 men. Further, he admitted that the licensed houses are in bounds for British soldiers. One denial and one only was made by Mr. Macpherson: that it was not a fact that the Cayeux house was opened at the request of the British authorities. This in no way affects the accuracy of the A. M. and S. H. Memorandum. The passage in the Memorandum relating to this point was an extract taken from a letter addressed by M. Foulquier (who interviewed the Mayor of Cayeux) to M. de Morsier, President of the French Branch of the Abolitionist Federation. The extract read as follows:—

> "Colonel M— wrote that the English military authorities had nothing to say to the creation of this establishment, and that the responsibility rested with the French military authorities. Then the French military authorities, writing through General D— said: 'It was at the request of the English military authorities that this brothel was opened.' On which side is the truth?"

It must occur to many people that it is a strange thing the British authorities have no power, and apparently no inclination, to interfere in a matter of this sort. Owing to war conditions it is obvious that British military authorities must of necessity be interfering in a thousand and one ways with the French civil authorities. All these things are a matter of mutual arrangement, and it seems most unlikely that at Cayeux the house could have been opened without the tacit consent of the British authorities. However that may be, the fact remains that it was opened in August, 1917, *after* the British Camp had been established there for some time.

The Medical Question.

Many people who detest the idea of licensed and regulated houses feel unable to protest against them because they believe that under war conditions there is certain to be a great increase of immorality, and they think that these houses, where the inmates are subjected to periodic medical examination, afford security against venereal infection. This is the defence which will be put forward by the military as a reason why these houses must be left in bounds. It is important therefore that we should make known the fact that a man is as likely to contract venereal disease in a medically inspected house as he is to do so with any chance woman picked up in the streets.

What are the conditions in the larger French towns? The regulation system prevails throughout the country and is similar to that instituted in England in 1864 under the Contagious Diseases Acts. In theory all "prostitutes" are registered, and must present themselves regularly for medical examination; if the women are inmates of brothels, the house is registered and tolerated by the police under certain conditions. To quote Flexner,* these conditions are as follows:—

> "Regulation applied to bordells or quasi-bordells, aims to govern their location, the number, age and medical inspection of inmates, the sale of liquor, the money relations of mistresses and girls, the maintenance of order, and the extent to which inmates are privileged to appear on the streets."

Speaking of the Paris regulations, he adds:—

> "Inmates are forbidden to solicit at windows; no attempt is made to regulate the sale of alcohol; nor can an inmate decline to put herself at the disposal of any customer who selects her, whatever his condition."

In addition to the comparatively small number of women in licensed houses, there are the registered women who live in rooms, and the unregistered "free prostitutes" or clandestines; these last are not under police or medical control.

If a licensed house is to boast any hygienic superiority over "free prostitution" it must be able to ensure that its inmates are kept free from venereal infection, and if infected they must be removed and their places taken by other women who are certified healthy. Hence the medical examination. The women

* "Prostitution in Europe," by A. Flexner. 1914. (Grant Richards Ltd., 7s. 6d. net.)

POLICIES FOR BUSINESS WOMEN. British Equitable Assn. Co., 1-3, Queen St. Place, E.C.

in licensed houses are examined in their own quarters, and Flexner dismisses this with the curt comment "examinations so conducted need not be seriously discussed." The registered women living in rooms are examined at the police headquarters. Here again the process is as perfunctory as it is horrible.

In private practice no specialist would venture to give a certificate of health to any woman patient until he had made Wassermann tests for syphilis and miscroscopic tests for gonorrhœa. The second disease is especially difficult to diagnose in women unless virulent, and it is even more difficult to say when a patient is cured of it. In consequence, at the medical examination, efforts are chiefly directed to the detection of syphilis. When it is obviously present the woman is sent to a prison hospital and is kept there, on an average, about 30 days. Yet in both the venereal diseases infection persists for a long period and often for years. These women are not cured, they are merely "whitewashed" and turned adrift again in a highly contagious state.

Little wonder that the Parisian public is commonly warned that the medical examination is not to be interpreted as a guarantee of safety. Professor Neisser of Breslau, the discoverer of the gonococcus, speaking of regulation has declared: "The present system not only does not effect a real sanitary control of the inscribed women—it rather operates to increase the volume of venereal disease." Again, the chief physician of the Vienna police stated in a public discussion: "The prostitute is often only the *carrier* of an infection. It is nothing new to find a man who has contracted disease from a woman whom the most careful examination pronounces healthy." The examination as conducted in public bordells is even more cursory than in police headquarters, and although Dr. T. Thibierge, of the Sainte-Louis Hospital, says that under war conditions the inspections "must be made daily"* yet it is well known they are rarely, if ever, made more than once a week, if so often.

Lowering the Standard.

The regulated brothel gives a false assurance of security to the men who patronise it, while the very fact that vice is tolerated by the State, and facilities provided for it, implies the absence of any expectation of self-control on the part of men. What is the effect of this tacit assent to immorality? Good conduct is largely the response of the individual to the expectation of society. If society expects a low standard of morality from men, it does by that very expectation undermine their mental resistance to temptation

Further, the whole abominable system is based upon, and tends to perpetuate, a contempt for womanhood. Women in *maisons tolérées* are scarcely regarded as human beings at all, they are "*things of the administration.*" The licensed brothel is the material expression of belief in the habitual unchastity of men, and as such is an insult and a challenge to men as well as to women. It has been suggested that the Cayeux Memorandum was an attack on the morals of British soldiers. The following extract from the editorial note in the December "Shield" gives the true interpretation:—

"We believe that no more sensitive, clean-minded, and honourable Army has ever been seen in the world than the British Army now fighting in Europe. But, owing to the gross materialism and lack of all belief in the finer attributes of their men, which appear to prevail among some competent military authorities, thousands of our soldiers have been deliberately exposed to an utterly demoralising form of temptation."

It is easy to realise that the military authorities are faced with exceedingly difficult problems in this matter, but what other armies have done our army can do too. The U.S.A., from the passing of the Selective Conscription Act, has safeguarded its men in every possible way from both drink and prostitution. In France, I am informed, in those towns or camps under American control, brothels are strictly out of bounds for U.S.A. soldiers. There is no official or semi-official encouragement of loose living; all the official pressure is against it.

Cannot our authorities take an equally strong line? What is wanted is a policy based on the assumption that illicit intercourse is unnecessary, and that the State can make no provision for it.

Perhaps nothing has so directly laid bare the belief in the double standard of morals as this provision of facilities for immorality to British troops, taken in conjunction with the recent cases in which soldiers have been acquitted after murdering their wives. These women had been unfaithful while their husbands were absent in France. In France the authorities provide opportunities for husbands to be unfaithful to their wives. Comment is needless, but these facts must prove to women that they have much yet to achieve. In the very hour of our victory the State itself lowers the standard of morality and strikes at the integrity of the principles of law.

* "Syphilis and the Army." By G. Thiebierge, 1918. (University Press, 6s. net.)

Correspondence.

[*Letters for publication should be received not later than Monday.*]

THE FUTURE OF THE NATIONAL UNION.

Madam,—Mrs. Thoday's explanation of the ideas underlying the Chinley scheme of reconstruction make the position very clear. I hope her article has been read, marked and inwardly digested by every Society in the Union, and that they have not overlooked its most crucial paragraph, which seems to me so important that I hope you will allow it to be quoted in full:—

> "They" (*i.e.*, the authors of the Chinley scheme) "desire not to exclude from the work of the future National Union any subject on which women have a special point of view, or of which women, as women, realise the importance more than men. *All matters concerned with life have a special significance for women,* so another motto might be added to the first: 'I am a woman, and nothing which concerns the life of my children or of other women's children is indifferent to me.'
>
> "All matters concerned with life"!

Is there any subject in the world, political, social, economic or ethical, that might not plausibly be brought within such a formula? It is proposed then, that our National Union shall take all mankind for its province, shall turn itself into an organisation for the betterment of the human race. A large and noble aim, no doubt, but surely a little too ambitious and diffused even for our National Union. Shall we not all be tempted to exclaim, after a little experience of its working:

> "The world is out of joint. Oh, cursed spirit
> That ever *I* was born to set it right."

Mrs. Thoday has of course made it clear that she contemplates a selection of objects and a concentration of effort upon the objects chosen. But imagine the task of the Council and, in the interval between Councils of the Executive Committee, that has to make the choice or to ratify or otherwise, the choice made by Societies out of such a limitless field!

The "equality" formula is not perfect. It is open to the objection, as Mrs. Thoday rightly points out, that equality is liable to be confused with identity. But at least it gives to Societies, Council and Executive a guiding principle of selection, a test that can be applied. The Chinley scheme gives practically no principle of selection at all. It would make the Union the happy hunting ground for every kind of propagandist. The Ardent Patriot, the Pacifist, the State Socialist, the Guild Socialist, the Temperance Reformer, the Old-fashioned Philanthropist, each and all of them and hundreds more would be free to capture the Union, if they could, for the furtherance of their special ends. Before opening the door so very wide, let us ask ourselves certain practical questions:

(1) What would be the effect upon the integrity of the Union? Have we the slightest reason to suppose that we are united upon any one of the mighty national issues that would certainly be raised during the very first year of working on the new basis?

(2) What would be the effect on the meetings of the Council? Would not the Agenda become so crowded that the only way of dealing with it thoroughly would be to form ourselves into a Parliament of Women and sit for six months every year instead of three days?

(3) What would be the effect on the questions comprised in the "equality" programme, those questions of women's status in which and on which alone, the National Union has a special experience and a special competency? How much time and energy would be left for careful investigation, and ceaseless, untiring agitation that will be necessary to accomplish even that now limited programme?

Let me suggest yet another motto for the National Union. It will be: "Cobbler, stick to your last."

Mr. Armstrong's letter raises a different point. He cannot understand why we want our Societies "not to be Women Citizens' Associations, but only to form them." The answer is quite simple. The National Union and its Societies has represented in the past and we hope will represent in the future the Left Wing, the advanced movement, among women. But the W.C.A.s, if they justify their comprehensive name, will not be mainly composed of advanced women. They should include the rank and file of the new voters. But they are not likely to do this, if they owe their genesis and inspiration solely to an organisation which they to a certain extent suspect, just because it is advanced. Also, to put it bluntly, our Societies in most towns are not strong enough to carry on single handed the work of forming such Associations on the extensive scale on which they ought to be formed, even if they should be so dog-in-the-mangerish as to try. Other Societies—the N.U.W.W. among them—are claiming to share in that task and we have neither the power nor the right to deny their claim. But if the W.C.A.s are to be formed by a united effort of women's organisations, it is clearly not the business of one of those organisations to define exactly what their future sphere of effort is to be. They must necessarily be autonomous, and the work done by each will depend partly on local needs and circumstances. There is not, I think, in their case much need to fear that they will be too high-flying or ambitious or will take "mankind for their province." We are not, taking us in the mass, a very adventurous people. Eleanor F. Rathbone.

THE FOOD SUPPLY.

Madam,—In view of the seriousness of the Food supply and its right distribution, may I suggest that every woman who will be a voter should write to her Member of Parliament and ask him to urge that women should form half of *every* Committee or Department that has to do with food? Women are accustomed to deal with matters of supply and distribution and to look ahead in these things; and if no other good resulted from this representation of women at least the women of England would know that the consumers point of view had due consideration.

E. Briscal.

N.U.W.S.S. Scottish Women's Hospitals.

A NATIONAL MEMORIAL TO DR. ELSIE INGLIS.

The announcement of the opening of a Fund for a National Memorial to Dr. Elsie Inglis has already met with many expressions of sympathy and approval. The Committee in charge of the Fund is made up of representatives from the chief activities of Dr. Inglis's life.

The story of her last year's devotion to the Serbs has travelled so widely, and is so well known, that it will seem most fitting to all the friends of the Scottish Women's Hospitals that they should look forward to the time when they can make a gift of a hospital bearing her name to that suffering people in Serbia itself.

While her work for the Serbs is most widely known, the Committee feel that her medical service in her own city of Edinburgh has a special claim. Eighteen years ago she started a Nursing Home for Women in one of the most crowded districts; out of this grew a Maternity and Child Welfare work, whose influence has spread to all parts of the city. From the beginning, Dr. Inglis took the keenest interest in the women medical students, and always found time to carry on a course of lectures and of clinical demonstrations. We know that if she could have come back to us here, she would have entered fully into the new opportunities now offered to medical women in Edinburgh. Fortunately, she had laid plans for these very developments, and the Committee feel in carrying out these plans, in providing on her foundation a special training for women in Midwifery and Infant Welfare, they will not only ensure the permanency of her work, but will help to meet a great national emergency in the most effective possible way. The plan is a small hospital of twenty beds, with one ward reserved for convalescent primiparæ and cases of difficult and insufficient lactation, in addition to the present district maternity service. Room will be provided for the students to live in, thus bringing them in direct contact both with the hospital in-cases and with the problem of maternity care at home, with the co-operation of fully-trained nurses.

Dr. Inglis's faith in the share that trained medical women will take in the solution of the world's great problems has been more than justified in her own life. It is the inspiration of this faith that the Committee would preserve for the hundreds of women already following in her footsteps.

S. E. S. Mair.

NEWS FROM CORSICA AND SALONIKA.

The work among the refugees in Corsica is varied and interesting. The Hospital at Ajaccio is very busy with tubercular, malarial, and general cases. In addition to this, the S.W.H. is responsible for two outpost stations—one at Ucciani, the other at Sari—and regular health-visiting is kept up among the Serbian women. It is satisfactory to know that solid educational work is thus being carried on in addition to the direct medical treatment. The convalescent boys are eagerly learning English under one of the S.W.H. staff.

Much is also being done for the Serbs in Macedonia. A letter from the S.W. Hospital there lately gave an account of the work being carried on by a Serbian officer. He has organised Boy Scouts and Girl Guides, and is anxious to start technical schools. Members of the N.U.W.S.S. will be interested to know that the new Matron of this hospital is Miss Violetta Thurstan.

By special request of the military authorities the Unit at Salonika gave a great "Hogmanay" party on New Year's Eve for the Scottish soldiers. Over a thousand were present, and were entertained in a huge building lent by the dock authorities. On New Year's Day a large party of Frenchmen came to tea. On the following Monday the Serbians were entertained, as it was their Christmas Day.

The move to the new camp was delayed by terrific snow-storms, but was finally accomplished "by degrees and in divers ways—by British or French lorry; by Arab carts; by foot; by mule." There was great regret felt throughout the neighbourhood when the departure was announced. Some civilians who came to the out-patients' department spoke warmly of the readiness to help shown by the "English ladies." Some Albanians said that for them to find "mothers and sisters" among the S.W.H. staff, "when they were so far from their own, was a revelation as to what the British were." "This," the writer adds, "is better Empire-building than we perhaps realise just now."

National Memorial

TO

DR. ELSIE INGLIS

In response to a widely-expressed wish it has been decided to open a fund to commemorate the work of the late Dr. Elsie Inglis. The following special objects have been selected for this Memorial:—

1. The Dr. Elsie Inglis Memorial Hospital to be established in Serbia after the War by the Scottish Women's Hospitals as a general Hospital and training school for Serbian Nurses and the maintenance during the War of the Elsie Inglis Hospital for Serbs in France.

The last three years of Dr. Inglis' life were spent in untiring service for this heroic Nation, and it was her expressed belief that Serbia has no greater need than that of trained Serbian nurses for her own people.

2. The development and endowment of the Hospice, High Street, Edinburgh, founded by Dr. Inglis, in future to bear her name and to become the **Elsie Inglis Memorial**, a training centre for Women Medical Students in Maternity and Infant Welfare.

The Hospice is the outcome of Dr. Inglis' fifteen years' devoted work for women and children. Its endowment will not only help to meet a great national emergency, but will fulfil plans made by Dr. Inglis herself and ensure her perpetual memory in her well-loved City.

Representatives from the Committees of:

The Scottish Federation of Women Suffrage Societies.

The Scottish Women's Hospitals for Foreign Service.

The Edinburgh Hospital for Women and Children, and the Hospice.

The two Scottish Associations of Medical Women,

with the co-operation of

The Lady Frances Balfour, Mrs. Henry Fawcett, LL.D., and others, have united in a

DR. ELSIE INGLIS MEMORIAL FUND COMMITTEE.

Donations may be ear-marked for either of the above objects, but if not so marked, they will be allotted equally to both.

Cheques crossed "National Bank of Scotland" should be addressed to

Mrs. WALLACE WILLIAMSON, *Hon. Treasurer*,
Dr. Elsie Inglis Memorial Fund,
Room 5, 40, Shandwick Place, Edinburgh.

Miss S. E. S. MAIR, 5, Chester Street, Edinburgh,
Mrs. JAMES T. HUNTER, 16, Glasgow St., Glasgow,
Joint Conveners.

Mrs. JAMES JOHNSTON, 10, Wester Coates Av., Edinb.,
Hon. Secretary.

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Special Enfranchisement Number

MARCH.

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A Message to the Women Electors of Great Britain and Ireland.	**THE PRIME MINISTER**
"Peace Hath Her Victories no less Renowned than War."	**Millicent Garrett Fawcett, LL.D.**
The Women's Vote from the Conservative Point of View.	**Sir William Bull, M.P.**
Millicent Garrett Fawcett: Pioneer and Leader.	**Edith Palliser**

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Mrs. Mary Scharlieb, M.D., M.S.Lond.	**Miss Ethel Smyth, Mus. Doc.**
Miss A. E. Horniman.	**Rev. Hugh Chapman.**

And other articles.

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THE Committee much regret that, owing to the greatly increased cost of raw material, and the very high cost of freight and Insurance from Port Said, it has become necessary again to increase the prices of the lace edged handkerchiefs made by the Armenian refugees at the Port Said Camp. They now vary in price from 1/5 to 2/7 each according to the work. The illustration depicts one priced at 2/1.

Samples of handkerchiefs will be gladly sent on approval, on application to the Office Secretary.

Donations in aid of the general relief work of the Society, or in payment of goods, may be sent to E. WRIGHT BROOKS, Esq., Hon. Treasurer, "Friends of Armenia," 47, Victoria Street, London, S.W. 1.

Cheques and Postal Orders should be crossed "London County & Westminster Bank."

List of Donations to Scottish Women's Hospital.

Subscriptions are still urgently needed, and should be sent to Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treasurer, S.W.H., Red House, Greenock. Cheques to be crossed "Royal Bank of Scotland." Subscriptions for the London Units to be sent to the Right Hon. Viscountess Cowdray, or the Hon. Mrs. B. M. Graves, Hon. Treasurers, 66, Victoria Street, Westminster, London, S.W. 1.

	£	s.	d.
Forward as per list to February 14th, 1918	287,376	8	7
*Sunderland W.S.S., per Mrs. Mundella, Hon. Treas. (Jan. dons.): *Workmen Messrs. Short Bros. Ltd. (£39 7s. 11d.), *Workmen, Foremen, and Officials Messrs. McColl & Pollock Ltd. (£4); Collected at 4 Belford Road: Mrs. Common (10s.), Miss Common (10s.), Mrs. Eliot Common (10s.), Mrs. Walford Common (5s.), Mrs. Garcia (2s. 6d.), A Friend (1s.); Household Economies at 4 Belford Road (6s.); Per Mrs. Mundella: Mrs. Eyres (5s.), Mrs. J. Patrick (5s.), S. H. C. (5s.), Miss M. Panton (5s.), Miss A. Hedley (2s.), Mrs. A. Ritson (2s.), Mrs. Mundella (2s.), Nurse Hinch (1s.), Form VI., Bede Collegiate Girls' School (7s. 8d.), Mrs. Dalrymple Smith (6s. 8d.), S. G. (5s.)	47	16	9
Further donations received to February 21st, 1918:—			
*Mrs. Cursiter, for "Orcadian" Bed (Royaumont)	10	0	
Working Girls' Bible Class, per Miss Maggie H. Taylor, Ayr...	12	6	
Sale of Chinese Stamps, per Mrs. Laurie, Hon. Treas., S.W.H.:—Miss Jane Riddell (5s.), Miss S. E. Courtauld (5s.)	10	0	
Wm. Home Cook, Esq., for "Belgrave" Bed, Salonica ...	10	0	0
Anonymous, per Mrs. Wallace Williamson	2	3	9
*Misses Russell	2	0	0
Mrs. Turnbull	5	5	0
"E. E. S."	1	0	0
*Per Mrs. Abbott—Subscriptions from Australia, per The Manager, The Commercial Banking Co. of Sydney Ltd., 18, Birchin Lane, London	2,500	0	0
Collection taken at Miss Vera Holme's Lecture, on Feb. 12th	35	12	4
Half Share of Matinees, per Mrs. Haverfield	58	0	0
*Per Miss E. Rachel Jamieson, Organiser, S.W.H., "Workmen's Scheme": Scottish Shale Miner's Association, per R. Simpson, Esq. (£10), Collected at various Picture Houses (£9 10s. 8d.), *Employees, Messrs. Thomson & Porteous, Leith (£3 18s.), *Employees, Messrs. McTaggart, Scott & Co., Loanhead (£3 13s. 8d.), *Edinburgh Telegraph Staff, per Miss M. Kettle (£3), Collected at Jenners, Edinburgh (£1 5s. 7d.) ...	31	7	11
Mrs. Harwood, Southport ...	2	0	0
*Per Mrs. Robertson, Kilmarnock: *Kilmarnock Soc. of Musicians, for upkeep of the "Kilmarnock Society of Musicians" Bed (Corsica), per John Curdie, Esq., (£50), *Employees, Messrs. Boyd & Forrest (83rd con.) (£2) ...	52	0	0
Proceeds of Concert held by Brechin United Co-op. Society, Ltd., per George Fyfe, Esq., Secretary	10	4	0
*Per Miss Isabel Basnett, Organiser, S.W.H.: Workers at Springfield and Broom Mills	4	0	0
*Miss MacLehose	10	0	0
*Miss Elizabeth Rae (monthly donation)		2	6
*Perth W.S.S., per Miss E. W. R. Alison, Hon. Treas., half proceeds of concert held in Perth, and organised by Miss Blair, Miss Adams, and Mr. R. Hay	12	10	0
Mrs. Harris	1	0	0
*Mrs. Cuthbert	2	0	0
*Per Miss A. A. Macdonald Clark, Edinburgh, for "Scots Thistle" Bed (Royaumont)...		12	0
*Birkenhead W.S.S., per Miss Mary E. Dalby, Hon. Treas.: February donations for "Birkenhead" Bed (Royaumont)	2	15	2
Mrs. McCracken	1	0	0
Stranraer Parish Church Women's Guild, per Miss MacGibbon	5	0	0
Miss E. Jenkins	1	0	0
Thomas Matheson, Esq.	2	0	0
A Widow's Mite (Salonica) ...	1	0	0
*Sunderland W.S.S., per Mrs. Mundella, Hon. Treas., additional to February donations		2	0
*Per Mrs. Campbell, for "Dornoch" Bed (Royaumont) ...	25	0	0
	£290,203	19	0

* Denotes further donations.

FURTHER LIST OF BEDS NAMED.

Name of Beds.	*Donors.*
"Dornoch" (Royaumont, further 6 months)	Per Mrs. Campbell, St. Gilbert's, Dornoch.
"Kilmarnock Society of Musicians"...	

London Units.

THE "ELSIE INGLIS" UNIT.

The first detachment of the "Elsie Inglis" Unit left London on Wednesday, February 20th, to take up its work with the same Jugo-Slav Division to which it was attached for over twelve months in Russia, and which has now been transferred to the Balkans. It has been the earnest wish of the London Committee of the Scottish Women's Hospitals, who are responsible for its equipment and upkeep, to make this Unit worthy of the great name it bears. It is not merely as a commemoration that this name was chosen, for it is, in truth, the "Elsie Inglis" Unit. During her lifetime Dr. Inglis had worked for and achieved the transference of the Serbian Division to another front, and her success in this international enterprise has added several thousand troops to the effective forces of the Allies.

But this achievement, though its importance can scarcely be over-estimated, was but a part of her great work. The forces which she was instrumental in saving from ruin and disaster must be fully equipped in every respect for their new work. Here her powers of organisation were again brought into play, and she planned in detail a hospital unit which should be responsible for the sick and wounded of this Jugo-Slav division in its new sphere of action. The British Government and the War Office appreciated the need, and the ability of the Scottish Women's Hospitals to meet it, and for these reasons have done all in their power to enable the London Committee to carry out Dr. Inglis's plans for a hospital to follow the division wherever the fortune of war may direct.

For many months before Dr. Inglis's return from Russia, the Committee realised that there must soon come an urgent

call on them for re-equipment, and they had been raising funds to meet the future needs. Hence they were able to equip the Unit, when the time came to do so, with everything necessary to make it efficient. There still remains the upkeep at the Front, and it is for this that the Committee appeals to-day. This appeal is not for a memorial to Dr. Inglis, but for the maintenance of the regular work of the hospitals on the lines which she herself laid down. It is surely of the greatest importance that the existing work should be continued, and that any memorial to Dr. Inglis should be in addition to, and not merely a part of, the hospitals left to us as her legacy.

It is in this confident hope that the London Committee of the Scottish Women's Hospitals is issuing its appeal for funds to carry on the future labours of the "Elsie Inglis" Unit. Cheques should be sent (crossed London, County, and Westminster Bank) to the Viscountess Cowdray or the Hon. Mrs. Spencer Graves, S.W.H., 66, Victoria Street, Westminster.

The following is the list of the personnel of the London Units of the S.W.H., up-to-date. There are still vacancies for a few experienced lorry-drivers in the Transport Column:

HOSPITAL STAFF.

Dr. Annette Benson, C.M.O.
Dr. L. M. Chesney, 2nd Medical Officer.
Dr. G. Ward, 3rd Medical Officer.
Miss Gwynn, Administrator.
Miss Murphy, Dispenser and Anæsthetist.
Miss Bullock, Senior Sister.
Miss Sayer, Sister.
Miss Willis, Sister.
Miss Drummond, Sister.
Miss Sturt, Sister.
Miss Arbuthnot, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Persse, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Lewis, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Fooks, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Douglas, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Wright, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Tillie, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Haig, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Tracey, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Moir, Nursing Orderly.
Miss Butler, Storekeeper.
Miss Chapple, Sanitation Orderly.
Miss Gunn, Cook.
Miss Chesshire, Assistant Cook.
Miss Watson, Laundress.

TRANSPORT.

Miss Geraldine Hedges, 1st Officer.
Miss Frances Robinson, 2nd Officer.
Miss Flora Parker, 3rd Officer.
Miss P. Gammell, Chauffeur.
Miss G. Hall, Chauffeur.
Mrs. L. M. Howard, Chauffeur.
Miss E. Law, Chauffeur.
Miss M. Lester, Chauffeur
Miss N. McCaw, Chauffeur.
Miss A. North, Chauffeur.
Miss M. Scott Owen, Chauffeur.
Miss A. Sidney, Chauffeur.
Miss D. Howie, Chauffeur.
Miss H. Stephens, Chauffeur.
Miss M. G. Tindall, Chauffeur.
Miss L. J. Trench, Chauffeur.
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Miss G. Dodgshun, Chauffeur.
Miss Arbuthnot Leslie, Chauffeur.
Mrs. Ding, Chauffeur.
Mrs. Buchanan, Chauffeur.
Miss G. E. Morris, Secretary.
Miss D. M. Ratcliffe, Cook.
Miss L. Haviland, Assistant Cook.
Miss B. M. Armstrong, Interpreter and Orderly.
Miss B. Stemple, Orderly.
G. Rignall, Mechanic.
J. Jordan, Mechanic.

Notes from Headquarters.

The National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.

President: MRS. HENRY FAWCETT, LL.D.

Hon. Secretaries:
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MRS. OLIVER STRACHEY (Parliamentary).
MISS EVELYN ATKINSON (Literature).

Hon. Treasurer:
MRS. AUERBACH.

Secretary:
MISS GLADYS DAVIDSON.

Offices—Evelyn House, 62, Oxford Street, London, W. 1.
Telegraphic Address—Volceless, West Cent., London.

We publish this week the first list of the prompt and generous donations to the Celebration Fund, now being raised in gratitude to the Pioneers of the Women's Suffrage Movement, and in connection with the Suffragists' Celebration at the Queen's Hall on March 13th. Different donors allocate their money to the Suffrage Societies of their choice, among the many societies helping to organise the meeting, but most of the letters speak especially of love and gratitude to Mrs. Fawcett. "To Mrs. Fawcett, our Leader, we owe more than can be written, but our love and veneration for her Leadership will always be a priceless memory," one donor writes, and the Ipswich Branch sends a contribution "as a small token of our love and admiration of Mrs. Fawcett." Another donor hopes that "Mrs. Fawcett will live to record her vote." Several friends who cannot afford to give anything at the moment, have promised sums from £100 down to 5s., to be given during the year, "which promise will be faithfully kept," adds one of them; and one generous donor, in sending £5, hopes "that even in these difficult times the response to the Appeal will be a generous one." We are unable to send a receipt to the donor of two half-crown postal-orders from Sheffield, as no name was enclosed.

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LONDON SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE.
A MEETING
will be held on FRIDAY, March 1st, 1918, in Room 18,
THE CAXTON HALL, WESTMINSTER
at 3 p.m.
To discuss the Agenda for the Annual Council Meeting of the National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies (March 12th, 13th and 14th).
Members of any Society of the National Union are welcome. Will they please apply for tickets to the Sec., 58, Victoria Street, S.W. 1.

VOTES FOR WOMEN AND AFTER.
INTERNATIONAL SUFFRAGE RALLY,
SATURDAY, March 9th, at 3 o'clock.
KINGSWAY HALL.
Speakers—Mrs. H. M. Swanwick (Chair), Councillor Margaret Ashton, Lady Barrett, Miss Louie Bennett, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Chrystal Macmillan, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Speakers from Allied Countries.
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Literature Department.

Copies of the Representation of the People Act are now on sale (price 1s. 6d., postage 3d.). Members of the National Union are urged to purchase this and read it for themselves. There are several difficulties of interpretation, and readers will be glad to know that Miss Macmillan's article, "And shall *I* have a Parliamentary Vote?" which appeared in THE COMMON CAUSE of February 1st, has been considerably revised and extended, thus bringing it in line with the provisions as set out in the final form of the Act. It is hoped that this will be ready for publication in about ten days' time. It will be in pamphlet form, and will be sold at 3d. per copy.

Secretaries of Societies will be glad to hear that the Literature Committee has now made arrangements for them to receive sample copies of everything published this year from January to the date of the Council Meetings for a charge of 6d., including postage.

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Reports from Societies.

Liverpool

WARRINGTON BRANCH.—On January 18th, Mrs. Cooper addressed a meeting of the above Branch in the Atkinson Café, when Mrs. Richardson, the Secretary, gave a report of the position of the Society at present. In her address on the future work of the N.U., Mrs. Cooper said that as the N.U. had been to a large extent responsible for the present measure of enfranchisement of women, it was quite logical to think that it could carry out successfully the work of educating the woman voter with the same zeal that it had displayed in fighting for her political freedom. The members decided that after the Council Meeting renewed efforts should be made to bring the Society in line with the decision of the Council.

Bury.

A NEW WOMEN'S CITIZENS ASSOCIATION IN EXISTENCE.

A successful meeting convened by the Bury Women's Suffrage Society (N.U.W.S.S.) was held in the Athenæum on February 11th. Mrs. J. M. Maddox was in the chair.

Representatives from the following leading women's organisations attended:—Women's Liberal Co-operative Guild, Mothers' Union, Women's Unitarian League, National Union of Teachers, National Union of Clerks, Infant Welfare Centre, Charity Organisation Society, Socialist Society, St. Marie's Refuge, and W.S.S.

The following resolution was carried unanimously:—

"That this meeting of representatives of Bury Women Voters hereby form an association to study domestic, social, economic, and educational questions especially concerning women, to urge reforms, and to take action, when desirable, locally and nationally, from the point of view of women's interests."

A General Committee was elected consisting of the Officers and Executive Committee Members of the Suffrage Society together with representatives from other Women's Organisations and the Committee were empowered to meet at the earliest possible moment to consider arrangements for a Public Meeting in March.

CHESTER W.S.S.—On February 20th, at 7.45 p.m., at the Masonic Hall, Queen-street, Mrs. Duckworth gave a stirring address on "The State—Motherhood and Mothercraft." Mr. H. F. Brown, J.P., presided. Mrs. Duckworth dealt with our responsibility as the State for seeing that all the children born shall have a fair chance, and touched upon the racial poisons, housing reform, joy in work, sex-education, etc. She advocated the endowment of motherhood—a point on which the Chairman disagreed with the speaker, whilst fully endorsing other social reforms. Collection: £1 0s. 4d. Nine copies of THE COMMON CAUSE were sold.

Forthcoming Meetings.

MARCH 1.

Caxton Hall—The Association for Moral and Social Hygiene, Public Protest Meeting against facilities for immorality provided for troops in France—Speakers: The Rev. Dr. Orchard, Miss Maude Royden, &c., &c. 5 p.m.

MARCH 4.

Kennington—Women's Unionist Association, 295, Kennington Road, S.E.—Speaker: Miss Rosamond Smith—Subject: "Women's New Opportunities" 3 p.m.

MARCH 7.

Denmark Hill—People's Church, Windsor Road, S.E.—Postponed Meeting: "The Representation of the People Act"—Chair: Miss Philippa Fawcett—Speaker: Mr. Stephen Caffery 7 p.m.

Birmingham—Grand Hotel—Meeting to celebrate the winning of the Vote—Speeches—Music 8 p.m.

MARCH 11.

Peckham—James Grove Mission, S.E.—Speaker: Miss Helen Downs—Subject: "The Importance of the Vote" 3 p.m.

Items of Interest.

WOMEN PATROLS.

The Women Patrols Committee was held on Feb. 14th, when an interesting account was given by the Supervisor of the London Special Patrols of the work done by these women employed and paid by the Commissioner of Police. There are 105 so employed, more than half of these on full time work. Six have received, during the past year, special commendation from the Commissioner for acts of courage and bravery in the discharge of their duty. In one instance a London Magistrate said, when a case in which a Woman Patrol was engaged was before him, that Women Patrols were doing a noble work and he wished the public to realise this. In ten London Police districts, in the case of air raids, Special Patrols are always engaged as air-raid Shelter Stewards. As nearly all the Special Patrols are either trained nurses, or hold first-aid certificates, they have been of great assistance, especially in the case of a recent calamity. There are 2,382 Women Patrols working in 70 centres, and the excellence and success of their work have led to the appointment of women police in several. These voluntary Patrols have also done valuable work during air-raids.

The following resolution was passed on Saturday, February 16th, at the Annual General Meeting of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society:—

"That this meeting of the Catholic Women's Suffrage Society approves of the continuation of the Society with the intention of working for the further extension of the franchise to women on the same terms as it is, or may be, given to men; to establish political, social and economic equality between men and women, and to further the work and usefulness of Catholic women as citizens."

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(Continued on page 612

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Continued from page 611.

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